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ABSTRACT

From the earliest historical period up to the present, Hindus have linked education with religion. This paper examines the evolution of the Hindu educational system from the Vedic period (up to 1000 B.C.) to the present. Topics covered include the historical development of the Hindu education from the earliest period when it consisted of recitation of the Vedas to the Brahmana period which led to the development of the Laws of Manu, the rule of religious and social life for Hindus, and later periods. Other areas discussed are teaching methods and objectives in traditional primary schools, the central position of the student-teacher relationship, higher education from the Vedic period to 1200 A.D., and teaching methods used in an educational system emphasizing memorization. Separate sections also deal with: (1) the evolution of women's education from the earlier period, when women were freer to participate, to the period beginning around 500 B.C. when women's educational opportunities declined; and (2) the philosophy of education, which emphasized the importance of education for illumination, greater piety, and character development. A seven-page list of project research papers concludes the document. (IS)

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Traditional Indian Education

Susan Pollak

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Traditional Indian Education

In Indian thought, education was used in both a wide and a narrow sense. In its wider sense, education was thought of as self-improvement which continues to the end of one's life. The one who is a true teacher is one who is a student all his life. Yet Indian education was also conceived of as the instruction and training that a young boy receives before he marries and settles down to a career or a profession. From the Vedic age (up to 1,000 B.C.) onward, the central conception of education has been that it is a source of illumination which gives insight into all aspects of life and teaches us how to act. Education, in the spiritual sphere, leads to salvation, and in the earthly sphere it leads to prosperity and progress. The illumination provided by education is said to shatter illusion, remove difficulties, and enable the individual to realise the true nature of life. A person who does not possess the light of education can be described as being "blind." Indian sages have suggested that the intellect, as developed by educational practices, is the real power in the world. Education is also thought of in familial terms-- it nourishes us like the mother, directs us to the proper path like the father, and gives delight and comfort like the wife. It also increases fame, destroys our difficulties, and makes us purer and more cultured. When we are in solitude or on a journey, it acts as a valued companion. It is at the root of human

happiness. Education is then thought to promote our material as well as spiritual well-being, both in this life as well as in the afterlife.

This paper is an examination of various aspects of Indian education, focussing on the changes and developments throughout time. There are assorted lacuna in the literature on Indian education, just as there have been on the subjects of Jewish and Islamic education. Personal, autobiographical material on schooling is one of the most salient gaps that I have found in this survey. Thus, this paper focusses on more historical and scholarly issues, where the other studies concentrated on more descriptive material concerning teaching and schooling.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The Vedic and Brāhmana Periods

From the earliest historical period up to the present, Hindus have linked education and religion. The first form of educational instruction was tied to the recitation of the Vedas, a collection of sacred hymns compiled by various poets. Every word of the Vedas was considered to be holy, and every movement and gesture of the reciter was thought to be filled with mystery and power. Thus, the proper recitation of the hymns was crucial, as a mistake could spell disaster for both the priest and the community. A course of training was established to help educate the priests in the correct mode of recitation. In the Vedas, we find records of meetings to discuss the awarding of diplomas to students, entitling them to participate in the sacrificial rites. Those who failed to attain the necessary standard of knowledge of the hymns were demoted to the rank of ploughman. [1] As the contents of the Vedas became subject to the criticism of interpreters, this early form of instruction developed into the establishment of various schools of commentary. [2] These schools continued, along with the increasing development of ritual, into the Brāhmana period. It was during this time

that specific goals in the education of the student (brahmacari) were formulated. During this period in the young Brahman's life, he would often travel from village to village to sit at the feet of renowned teachers. [3] This time was considered to be a type of apprenticeship:

> Instruction is no longer merely concerned with domestic traditions. The student travels to a distance, and attaches himself to now one, now another teacher of renown; and the itinerant habits thus produced must have contributed not a little to imbue the Brāhmans with the feeling that they formed a class by themselves, in the midst of the small tribes of people into which Aryan India was at the time divided. This apprenticeship, which was at the time a noviciate in morals, was a very protracted one, for "science," they used to say, "is infinite." [4]

Education According to the Laws of Manu

The education of the young was regulated by a code of legislation called the Laws of Manu. This was originally a local code which assumed it present shape around 200A.D. It is now generally accepted as the rule of religious and social life for Hindus. The Laws of Manu include ritual, grammar, phonetics, as well as the precepts for the moral duties and conduct of Brāhmans. These laws apply only to the "twice born," as Sūdras were "forbidden to fulfill the sacred law," or to "hear, learn, recite, or teach the Veda." [5]

Education, for the Brahman boy, begins at age five with an initiation rite, the upanâyana. The Laws of Manu describe aspects of the initiation:

> The student who devotes himself to sacred learning should first undergo initiation (upanâyana), i.e., investiture with the sacred thread(yajñopavita), in the fifth year after conception. He should wear the skin of a black antelope, spotted deer, or he-goat as an upper garment, while his under dress should be of hemp, flax, or wool. He should procure his food by begging under strict regulations, and eat it with special precautions. [6]

After the initiation rite, the teacher instructs the student in the "rules of personal purification, conduct, fire-worship and twilight devotions." Before the student begins the study of the Vedas, he must perform another ritual, where he "must sip water in accordance with the sacred law, join his hands, clasp the feet of his teacher, and touch his right and left foot with his hands." He must also recite the sacred Om, because, "unless this precedes and follows, his learning will slip away or fade." [7]

The are many rules which prescribe the behavior of the student in regard to the teacher. During the period of instruction he must:

> ... do what is benefical to his teacher; never offend him; fetch water, firewood, flowers, cowdung, earth and the sacred kusa grass for his use; controlling his body, speech, organs, and mind, he must stand before him with joined hands, he must eat less than usual in his presence, wear less fine garments and ornaments, rise earlier,

> and go to bed later; he must not converse with with his teacher while reclining, sitting, eating or with averted face; he must observe strict rules of meeting and addressing him. He must cover his ears or leave the place if his teacher is falsely defamed, 8

The student who treats his teacher with reverence will be rewarded after his death, " A Brâhmana who serves his teacher till the dissolution of his body, reaches forthwith the eternal mansion of Brahman."

The Laws of Manu also set forth the course of instruction that the student must master.

> During the course of instruction he must study the whole Veda with the Rahasyas, or secret explanations of the Veda, that is to say, the Upanishads, and perform at the same time various prescribed austerities and vows. 9

The student must not pay the teacher while he is studying, but he must provide a "suitable reward" for his teacher when the course of instruction is finished.

While a student who is studying in traditional Jewish or Islamic schools makes a commitment to study for a few years, the vow of studying the Veda under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six, or for half of that period, or until the student is proficient. [10] The casting off of a teacher is "one of the most deadly sins," and the penalties for the violation of the "bed of the teacher" are of the most stringent kind. The erring student

is liable to assorted transmigrations into grass, trees, creepers or noxious animals and insects. However, there is a form of penance that secures purification. [11]

Brāhman students were honored when they completed their course of instruction. Money given to these students was said to be "an imperishable treasure for kings." Students were also protected during the time of their studies, and they were not required to be witnesses in a court of justice. They were also exempt from certain payments, such as ferry tolls. [12]

Education was considered to be the first of four stages (āśrama) in the Hindu life cycle. While most Brahman boys do not spend thirty-six years studying the Vedas, the period of study is looked upon as an ideal. In fact, it is a custom in modern Hindu marriage ceremonies for the bridegroom to make a formal attempt to leave for Benares to undergo a period of study (kāśiyàtra). However, he is dissuaded, with difficulty, by his relatives, and then agrees to stay with his wife. [13]

Primary Education

In Northern India, primary schools were called pāthśālā (from the Sanskrit path, or instruction, śālā, or hall), in the Panjab they are called śāl or śālā, and in Southern India, pial, a term taken from a raised platform used for sitting.

The following is a descriptive account of Hindu indigenous education, which the author claims is "nearly the same" in all parts of India.

> Each morning at 6 o'clock the Pantoji, who is in some cases a Brahman and the priest of many of the families whose children attend the school, goes round the village and collects his pupils. This process usually occupies some time. At one house the pupil has to be persuaded to come to school; at another, the parents have some special instructions to give the master regarding the refractoriness of their son; at a third, he is asked to administer chastisement on the spot. As soon as he has collected a sufficient number of the pupils, he takes them to the school. For the first half-hour a Bhupali or invocation to the Sun, Saraswati, Ganpati, or some other deity, is chanted by the whole school. After this the boys who can write trace the letters of their kittas with a dry pen, the object of this exercise being to give free play to the fingers and wrist, and to accustom them to the sweep of the letters. When the tracing lesson is over, the boys begin to write copies; and the youngest children, who have been hitherto merely looking on, are taken in hand either by the master's son or by one of the elder pupils. The master himself generally confines his attention to one or two of the oldest pupils, and to those whose instruction he has stipulated to finish within a given time. All the pupils are seated in one small room or verandah, and the confusion of sounds which arises from three or four sets of boys reading and shouting out their tables all at the same moment, almost baffles description.[14]

An "educational inspector" commented on the profusion of noise in the classroom, writing " Each pupil recites at the top of his voice, and the encouragement to noise is found in the fact that the parents often compute the energy of the master from the volume of sound proceeding from the school. This is no exaggeration. I have myself heard villagers complain that our Government schools lack the swing and energy of the

indigenous schools." [15]

The class session usually breaks up about 9 or 10 o'clock, and re-assembles at 2 in the afternoon. The concluding lesson is given at 4 p.m. For this session, the boys are ranged in two rows facing each other, while two of the older pupils are stationed at one end between the two rows. They dictate the lesson, step by step, and the rest of the boys shout after them. When this is over, the school is dismissed, and the master conducts the younger students to their homes. The school usually meets every day of the week, including weekends. There are frequent holidays to celebrate Hindu feasts and fasts, and the school is closed on full-moon day (Paurnimă) and new-moon day (Amàvásyă). In harvest time as well, many of the indigenous schools are closed.

In many of the indigenous schools, there are set rituals performed on the new-moon and full-moon days. These usually take the form of a ceremony dedicated to Saraswatí, the goddess of learning, and are called Pătípújă, or "slate worship." In these ceremonies "a quarter of an anna, a betel-nut, half a seer of grain, a little saffron and tumeric, and a few flowers" are laid upon the slate of each student as offerings to the goddess. The student then bows before the offerings, and places the slate on his head for a few minutes. After the ceremony is finished, the master appropriates the offerings. [16]

The primary objectives of most of the indigenous schools was to teach reading, writing, and the basics of arithmetic. The issue of the origin of this indigenous system of education is much debated. As mentioned above, the Śudras were excluded from the education provided for the "twice-born" castes, and it is possible that some kind of elementary education was organized by the village communities. In Bengal, the origin of the village school is connected with the worship of the village god, whose shrine was cared for by a Brāhman. It is said that he added education of the village children to his priestly duties.[17] In part of Northern India, these indigenous schools have been replaced by the circle (ḥalqabandī) schools, which meet the educational needs of a group of villages. [18]

Another important form of traditional Indian education was the Gurukula system. In this system, the student began to live under the teacher's supervision after the Upanayana ceremony. The Gurukula system was based on ideas regarding the importance of imitation and association with the teacher. It was believed that direct and continuous contact with a noble teacher would produce a noble character in the young boy. While some gurukulas were located in forests away from city life, the majority of these schools were in villages or towns. In such situations, the gurukulas were held in a secluded garden. There were a number of subjects taught in these schools in addition to the Vedas and philosophy, such as philology,

grammar, astronomy and civics.

Student- Teacher Relationship

It was the function of the teacher in traditional Indian education to lead the student from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge. The lamp of learning is concealed under a cover, wrote one philosopher, the teacher removes it and lets out the light. [19] Thus, the student is expected to show the teacher the utmost respect and reverence, even more than his parents. In fact, the teacher is designated as the spiritual and intellectual father of the student. No education can be possible without the guidance and inspiration of the teacher. The importance of the teacher is illustrated by the story of Ekalavya, who was refused admission into the school of his choice. He created an image of the ideal teacher under whom he longed to study, and successfully finished his studies with the inspiration of the imaginary teacher. [20]

There are a number of reasons why the teacher was revered to such a great extent in traditional Indian education. From the earliest times, the Vedic learning has been transmitted orally from one generation to the next. This continued to be the case even after the invention of writing. The Vedas were not supposed to be written, and the Mahābhārata condemns to hell a person who commits them to writing. [21] Thus, great importance was attached to the proper accent and pronunciation

in the recitation, and this could only be learned from a properly qualified teacher. The transmission of the Vedic knowledge was possible only through the agency of the teacher.

With the rise of mystical systems in the age of the Upanishads (till 200 B.C.), the reverence for the guru became even more pronounced. Spiritual salvation was thought to rest almost entirely upon the proper guidance of the teacher.

Since the teacher was held in high esteem, he was expected to possess a number of characteristics. He was to be patient and regard his students impartially. He was expected to be well grounded in his field of knowledge, and to continue his reading throughout his life. He was also supposed to possess " a fluent delivery, readiness of wit, presence of mind, a stock of interesting anecdotes and must be able to expound the most difficult texts without any hesitation or delay." [22]

While he was regarded as the spiritual father of his students, he was also held morally responsible for their drawbacks. He was expected to keep guard over the conduct of his pupils, and to instruct them in diet and sleeping habits. The teacher was also supposed to dispense advice about the people whose company he should keep, and those whose company he should avoid. If the student was ill, the teacher was expected to nurse him back to health.

The student had a number of duties toward the teacher. He was expected to hold him in reverence and honor him like

"the king, parents and the gods." His behavior was to follow the rules of decorum, and he was expected to salute his teacher in the proper way, not occupy a higher seat or wear better clothes. While the student was expected to revere the teacher, he was not supposed to follow him blindly. He had a responsibility to point out the teacher's failings, in private, and to dissuade him from misconduct if he was so inclined. The student's duty of obediance comes to an end if the teacher transgresses the limits of Dharma(the course of right action and behavior) or if the teacher's commands jeopardise the student's life. [23]

Students and teachers usually found each other, and were not bound by an institutional contract. The student usually went to a teacher who attracted his attention by both reputation and scholarship; the teacher selected students who seemed sincere, eager to learn, and well-disciplined. The relations between the teacher and student were cordial and intimate, and they were united by "mutual reverence, confidence, and communion of life." Students usually did not desert one teacher for another, and often stayed in the relationship for a good part of their lives. In fact, relations between teacher and student were said to continue in the after-life.

Higher Education

In the early Vedic Age (up to 1500 B.C.), the Vedic literature comprised the major portion of the course of study.

But in addition to the sacred hymns, there were also some historical poems and ballads that were memorized by the students. Those who intended to enter the priesthood had to learn the details of the rituals as well. The study of geometry, which was necessary for the proper construction of sacrificial altars, was also included in the Vedic course of study. A knowledge of astronomy was also considered to be essential. In terms of method of study, some hymns were memorized, but emphasis was not placed on meticulous accuracy. More effort was made to understand the meaning of the hymns rather than to recall their exact wording. This attitude changed in the later Vedic age (1500 to 1000 B.C.) when the emphasis was on preserving the sacred and pristine form of the Vedic literature. Scholars of this period began to insist that the hymns should be carefully committed to memory in their precise traditional intonation and accents. Students were not at liberty to change words or expressions, even from an archaic form to a popular one. The mass of Vedic hymns was classified in this period and as a result the Ṛigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda came into existence. This facilitated the growth of the Brāhmana literature, which was concerned with the exposition of dogmas, theories and practices associated with Vedic sacrifices. Sacrifical rituals became increasingly complex in this period and the professional priests had to devote several years to mastering their details and intricacies. The study of

geometry and astronomy continued to progress, and the development of grammar and etymology began.

In the age of the Upanishads and Sutras (first millennium B.C.), the method of study continued to change. Vedic literature was regarded as "revealed" literature, and thus the task of preserving it became increasingly important. While writing was popular by this time, it was considered irreligious to record the Vedas. It was feared that the slightest mistake in the recitation of the hymns would bring about a disaster. Thus, attention shifted from an understanding of the hymns to the task of accurate memorization. Various precautions were undertaken to prevent the corruption of the Vedic text, such as the pada-pātha, the krama-pātha, jatā-pātha, and the ghana-patha. The pada-pātha required that each word in the Vedic hymns was memorized separately and restored to its original form. For example, if a,b and c were the three opening words of a hymn, the krama-pātha recited them as ab, bc,etc. The jata-pātha as ab, ba, ab, etc. In the ghana-pātha, it was recited as ab, ba, abc, cba, abc. [24] Thus, the task of memorization was clearly an onerous one. It was decided towards the end of this period that some scholars would devote themselves to memorization of the literature, while others would address themselves to issues of interpretation. In this period, an attempt was made to combine the Vedic education with professional education in the practical arts and sciences. These included archery, military art, medicine, magic, snake charming, conveyancing,

administrative training, music, dancing, painting, engineering, etc.[25]

In the age of the Smritis, Puranas and Nibandhas (1st century A.D. to 1200 A.D.) Vedic studies fell into the background. While there were a number of Brāhmanas who were available to transmit the Vedic literature, this life-long devotion was no longer held in such high esteem. A number of critics felt that the intellect was deadened and rendered useless by the parrot-like cramming of the Vedic hymns. Kings of the age were more likely to extend their patronage to poets, who could compose poems in their honor, than to Vedic Brāhmanas who recited hymns that neither they nor their hearers could understand. The study of Sanskrit, grammar and astrology also began to take precedence over the study of the Vedas in this period. With the study of the Smritis and Puranas (unrevealed texts), emphasis was again on the meaning of the works rather than on committing them to memory. Often the students of these works used a manuscript when expounding their contents, as there was no prejudice against using writing to preserve these works as there had been with the Vedic literature. In this period, text-books came into use, and libraries were established to house the sacred books.

Methods of Teaching

In the beginning stage of Indian education, the art of writing was unknown. When it was invented, it was used for transmitting the Vedic literature, which was the main topic of study for several centuries. It was also held that the

Vedic literature should be memorized in the most meticulous way, and even the mistake of a single accent could have dire consequences. While the art of writing was utilized for non-Vedic literature, only the very rich had books, as these were made out of birch leaves which were both fragile and expensive. The average student could not have his own copy of a text-book-- even the desire to possess one was a sign of indolence. [26] Thus oral instruction was the only available method of teaching, as well as the cheapest and the most accurate.

In the Vedic schools, the most common mode of instruction was recitation. The teacher would pronounce two words of the Vedic stanza at a time, and the student was asked to repeat with exact intonation and accent. If the student had difficulty, the passage was explained to him. When a whole verse was taught to one student, he was dismissed and the process was repeated with the next one. Thus, every student received individual attention and was taught in a direct and personal manner.

In the non-Vedic schools the above procedure was followed, only with some modifications when it was decided that certain texts should be memorized by the student. Certain parts of the text were recited and explained by the teacher to the students, and when they were understood the students committed these sections to memory. However, oral learning held more prestige than book learning. The highest ambition of an author of the 12th century was not that his work would be placed in the libraries of the learned, but that it "may shine as an ornament on their neck,"

i.e., it should be memorized by them.[27]

Recitation formed an important part of the routine of student life. Homework did not consist of written exercises, but of the recitation and recapitulation of the daily lesson. Students were required to spend part of their time in school in jointly reciting a portion of the work they had memorized. A number of memory aids were used by the students to help them with the task of memorization. Supposedly, after these aids were employed for ten to fifteen days changes occurred. One claimed "his thoughts, rising like a fountain, would grasp and commit to memory whatever he had but once heard." [28] Rhyme was one device that facilitated the task of memorising, and most text books were composed in verse, as were dictionaries and books on grammar. Parables and dialogues were also used as aids in learning.

Śastrārthas, or debates, played an important part in the literary training of students. The Vedic literature refers to literary combats and descibes the honors that were accorded to the victors. [29] This tradition of the debates continued from Vedic times throughout the later historical developments.

Students also received a great deal of individual attention. Classes were usually small, consisting of not more than ten to fifteen students, thus it was possible to give each student personal instruction. There was a daily examination of each student and no new lessons were given until the old ones were

mastered. In fact, teachers would suspend lessons if they discovered that the students had forgotten some of the portions learned earlier. There were no annual examination or fixed promotions. In short, the educational system was directed toward the needs and capacities of the individual student.

Women's Education

Women were considered to be eligible for the privilege of studying the Vedic literature and performing the sacrifices until 200 B.C. In fact, some of the hymns of the Rigveda were composed by women. [30] In this early period, the Upanayana of girls was as common as that of boys. The Atharvaveda (XI 5.18) refers to women undergoing the Bramacharya discipline, and the Laws of Manu list this initiation as an obligatory sanskāras (ritual) for girls. [31] At the beginning of the Christian era, the girls' Upanayana went out of vogue.

There were a number of women scholars in both the Vedic and Upanishadic ages. In fact, a specific branch of Vedic study, the Mīmānsā, which was concerned with Vedic sacrifices, was dominated by women, who were called Kāśakṛitsnā, named after a woman scholar who wrote an important work on the subject. In the Upanishadic age, women took part in philosophical discussions and debates. In fact, during one philosophical tournament it was noted that the subtlest philosophical question was asked by a woman philosopher. It was so subtle and complicated that one of the most accomplished philosophers of the

time, Yājñavalkya, refused to answer it in public.[32]

In the early period, girls were educated in the home. In the age of the Smritis, it was stated that only near relations should teach girl students. Some women, Upādhyáyā, were themselves teachers of the sacred literature. It is also important to note that there was no Purdah custom in Hindu society before the 12th century, so there was no problem with women taking part in the teaching profession. It is speculated that women teachers confined themselves to the teaching of girls, although some may have taught boys as well. In fact, some of the stories narrated in the Puranas would indicate that in some instances co-education did exist.

There was a deterioration in women's religious status around 500 B.C. and a corresponding setback in women's education. Upanayana gradually began to be prohibited to girls, and became a formality not followed by instruction in the Vedas. By 200 B.C. the ceremony was performed without the recitation of the Vedic mantras.[33] Without this ceremony, the status of women fell drastically, and they were declared to be of the same status as the Shudras, and thus unfit to recite Vedic mantras and perform Vedic sacrifices. While it is not clear why women were prohibited from Vedic education in this later period, although one could speculate that it was tied to the length of Vedic education, which was not finished until the age of twenty-four. Marriages, as a rule, took place at the age of sixteen or seventeen, and were rarely postponed to

this age. In some cases, marriage took place at the age of twelve, the age prescribed in the Laws of Manu. Some Smritis glorify the merits of a girl's marriage at the age of 7, 8 or 9 years of age. Thus, if it was regarded as an ideal thing to celebrate a girl's marriage at so young an age, women's education could hardly prosper. [34] There were also a number of old wives' tales regarding women's education in the later periods. It was believed that a girl taught to read and write may become a widow soon after her marriage. The decline in literacy was so severe that after the 18th century only one woman in a hundred could read. [35]

Philosophy of Education

Education, as noted above, was tied to illumination. It was education that accounted for differences between people. One Vedic philosopher wrote: " It is not because he possesses an extra hand or eye, but because his mind and intellect are sharpened and rendered more efficient by education." [36] Devoid of education we are like beasts, it is the process of education that elevates us into human beings. Life without learning was thought to be futile. Even a Brahman is said to "remain a Shudra until he receives proper education, refining his nature and making him cultured." [37]

There are many ways that education helps to bring about this transformation. It provides proper notions of cleanliness

and manners. In fact, etiquette was one of the first subjects that was to be taught to the young student according to the Laws of Manu. It was also thought that education would remove prejudice, sharpen the intellect, and develop the faculty of discrimination. Education was also associated with action, not only with scholarship.

The chief aims of Indian education were to infuse the student with a spirit of piety, assist in the formation of character and the development of personality, promote social and civic duties and preserve the cultural heritage.

The first aim in the process of education was a religious one, and nearly all the teachers were priests. Religious rituals marked the beginning of primary and secondary education. Students were also taught that although the body was a product of nature, one's mind, intellect and soul belonged to the world of spirit, the laws of which governed one's conduct, character and ideals. While religious piety was a key ideal, the aim of education was not to induce the student to renounce the world. Even with Vedic students who intended to follow a religious life, only a small minority remained life-long Brahmacarins. The majority was expected to become householders.

The development of character was another chief aim of Indian education. Intellectual attainments were thought to be of less consequence than the development of proper moral feeling and character. The teacher was held responsible for the student's moral progress and behavior. He was also

supposed to help foster a sense of self-confidence and self-respect in the student.

The theory of the three debts, which has been propounded since the Vedic age, has helped to foster the aims of Indian education. The theory maintains that the moment an individual is born he incurs three debts, which can be discharged only by performing certain duties. He owes a debt to the gods, which can only be paid by learning to perform the sacrifices. He owes a debt to the teachers and scholars of past ages, which can only be paid by learning their teachings and continuing the literary and philosophical tradition. The third debt was the one to the ancestors, which can be paid only by raising children and teaching them in the traditional knowledge.

Thus mind, body, intellect and spirit were the components that made a human being; the aims of Indian education were to promote their harmonious and simultaneous development. Indian education also emphasized both social duties as well as social welfare, and stressed that education would bring about illumination on both an individual and societal level.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rigveda x.71, vii 103.5 Also cited in W. Crooke, "Hindu Education, from Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics p, 190.
2. A. Weber, History of Indian Literature, p. 88, cited by Crooke, p. 190.
3. This phenomena of the "wandering student" can also be found in the Jewish, Islamic and Christian traditions.
4. A. Barth, Religions of India, p. 45, cited in Crooke, p. 190.
5. Laws of Manu, x. 126, 127; iii 156, iv 99, x 127, cited by Crooke, p. 191.
6. Laws of Manu, ii 37, ii 41.
7. ii 71f, 73 ff (Manu)
8. Manu, ii 108, 144, 182, 192.
9. Manu, ii 165
10. Manu, iii 1.
11. Manu, xi, 60, ix, 235, 237, xi 49, 55, 104 f xii 88, xi 252
12. Manu, viii 27, 65, 407.
13. Crooke, p. 191
14. Crooke, p. 193
15. An interesting comparison can be drawn here with the noise and discussion in the Jewish heder. See the paper on traditional Jewish education, S. Pollak, Van Leer Project, 1982.
16. Crooke, p. 193
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. A.S. Altekar, Education in Ancient India, (Varanasi, 1957) p. 49.
20. Altekar, p. 50
21. Ibid.

22. Altekar, p. 53.

23. Ibid, p. 59-60

24. Ibid, p. 149-150. For more on the philosophy of education in the Upanishads, seeJ. Sarmah, Philosphy of Education in The Upanishads, (Delhi, 1978) pp. 172-197.

25. Altekar, p. 151

26. Ibid, p. 161

27. Ibid, p. 163

28. Ibid, p. 165

29. Rigveda, x. 71

30. Altekar, p. 208

31. Manu, p. II 66.

32, Altekar, p. 211

33. Manusmriti, x. See also Altekar, p. 216

34. Since formal education usually ended with marriage, it may have been thought to be dangerous to have women who were only partially educated in the Vedas, as they were more prone to make mistakes which could lead to disaster. However, why women were excluded in the later Vedic period is a matter that is open to speculation.

35. Altekar, p. 226

36. Ibid, p. 5

37. Ibid, p. 6

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